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University Community Collaboration: Understanding Incentives Challenges and Approaches
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW **1**

SELECTED EXAMPLES OF UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY COLLABORATION **2**

1. Research Focused University Community Collaboration: Democratizing Knowledge? .. 2
   1.1 The Dutch Science Shops *2*
   1.2 Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs) *5*
   1.3 The Université du Québec à Montréal's Service aux collectivités *5*
   1.4 Brock University's Centre for Social and Economic Research on Niagara *6*
2. University Community Collaboration through Service Learning: Learning-By-Doing? . 7
   2.1 University of Pennsylvania's Center for Community Partnerships *7*
   2.2 The Center for Community Partnerships *10*
3. Cross-Cultural University Community Collaboration: Fostering International Citizenship? 12
   3.1 The Canada-Asia Partnership Program (CAP) *12*
4. Summary of Selected Examples 19

MAJOR THEMES AND ISSUES **21**

1. Reasons for Partnerships 21
   1.1 Moral or ethical reasons *21*
   1.2 Self-interest *22*
2. Challenges of Partnering 23
   2.1 Issues of inclusion and exclusion *23*
   2.2 Issues of power and control *23*
   2.3 The lack of 'fit' between the university and the community *23*
3. The Elements of Successful Collaboration 25
   3.1 Clarity concerning the reasons for the partnership *25*
   3.2 Clarity regarding the terms of the partnership *26*
   3.3 Flexibility *27*
   3.4 New ways of looking at research, knowledge and teaching *27*
   3.5 Ongoing assessment by all parties as well as strategies to address concerns *28*
4. Institutionalizing University Community Partnerships 29
   4.1 Building on existing service-enclaves *29*
   4.2 Ensuring adequate infrastructure *30*
   4.3 Diverse sources of funding and political support *30*
   4.4 Incentives for faculty and student participation *31*
   4.5 Collaboration between departments and between post-secondary institutions *32*
   4.6 Structures and processes for maintaining ongoing relationships with community partners *32*
   4.7 Participation in national and international linkages that promote university-community partnerships *33*
   4.8 Integration of teaching and research activities with community partnerships *34*

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS **35**

APPENDIX 1 ..... **36**

REFERENCES **37**

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INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

This paper is the result of a review of the literature relating to university community partnerships. Some of the literature focuses on examples of such partnerships as they are occurring in a variety of settings around the world. Other literature identifies conceptual categories and theoretical issues. What follows is a summary of this literature, compiled into two sections.

In the first section three very different approaches to university community collaboration are presented, offering one or more examples of operationalization of each. The first approach, termed research-focused collaboration, generally involve faculty and students in research that a community group has requested but does not have the expertise or resources to conduct itself. The second approach is the use of service learning (or learning-by-doing) in university community collaborations. The third example illustrates a cross-cultural approach to university community partnering. The examples chosen are intended to illustrate the wide range of approaches universities can and have taken to community collaboration. There are many possible combinations and permutations within these approaches.

The second section presents major themes and conceptual categories related to university community partnerships. These include incentives or reasons for the university to engage in partnerships with the community as well as the challenges that such partnerships pose. Following this, a review of considerations for "best practices" is offered. Finally, strategies for institutionalizing a program of partnership are discussed. In presenting these themes and categories I sought to capture range as opposed to depth, and it must be noted that many of them are highly complex and worthy of much more comprehensive treatment than they are given here.

This paper is not intended to be a definitive statement on the operationalization of university community partnerships. Rather, it is intended to be a working document to spark ideas, discussion, and action for those wishing to promote such partnerships and seeking to avoid the pitfalls and capitalize on the opportunities which these endeavors can offer.

SELECTED EXAMPLES OF UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY COLLABORATION

1. Research Focused University Community Collaboration: "Democratizing Knowledge?"

The research mission of higher education has long been considered important to democracy. Research on scientific, economic, and social issues helps to frame public policy issues and public discourse. However, the research of post secondary institutions is increasingly seen as highly abstract, removed from public issues, and more and more inaccessible to the public (Paquet 1999). The examples given below are attempts to use the resources of the university to produce knowledge that is both relevant, and accessible, to the public.

1.1 The Dutch Science Shops

The first Wetenshapswinkel originated in 1972 at the University of Utrecht. It grew out of the student activism of the '60s and '70s and the desire to make universities more socially responsible and accessible to the broader community. Something is lost in the translation since the 'science shops,' as the term translates in English, sell nothing and do not confine their focus to science in the narrow sense of the word. Thus the term Wetenschapswinkel is sometimes translated as "research information centre."

There are three key features of Dutch Science Shops:

- They receive and respond to research questions posed by community non-profit groups;
- They involve students in the research, typically within the context of the curriculum;
- They produce reports on the research for not only the inquiring group, but also the general public.

Their basic objective is stated as "[the provision of] research, advice, and information to groups in the community that lack financial, social, and political resources and that will use what they are given for social benefit but not political gain" (quoted in Warme Van Gent 1996, 2). The shops are widely different in terms of structure, size, funding, scope of activities, clientele, policies, and reactions to the changing external environment. The only characteristics they have in common are that all have permanent staffing, all are proactive in seeking clients, and all disseminate the results of their research to the widest possible audience. Generally, the criterion for taking on a project is its social relevance. Only one shop—at the University of Amsterdam—conducts research itself. The others act as intermediaries between clients and researchers. Some rely almost solely on student volunteers who work for credit under faculty supervision. Others regularly utilize faculty or outside researchers on a paid basis. Funding for the shops is typically a combination of internal (university) funding and external grants, donations, and fees for service. Internal funding is generally used for administration and overhead while funding for the research

itself comes from client contributions—in some of the shops these are sizeable, in others merely a token—as well as grants from government, charitable foundations and national organizations.

1.1.1 The University of Leiden Science Shop (centralized model)

- Founded in 1980.
- Staff: Director (4 days/week), graduate degree in theory of adult education and research experience in epidemiology;
  Five coordinators (3 days/week), graduate degrees in various disciplines;
  Two administrative assistants (2.5 days/week).
- Has an advisory board that includes faculty members, which meets monthly.
- Committees, which consist of the client, the researcher, a science shop staff member and sometimes faculty or outside people with specific expertise in the area of research, oversee the research project.
- Those doing the research are free to use it for their own publication, but the science shop is in charge of the official project report, assisting the client in making use of the findings, arranging distribution to other groups that might find them useful, and arranging press coverage.
- Once a client has submitted a question that calls for research, a proposal is written either by one of the coordinators or by a person who has agreed to do the research.

1.1.2 The Free University of Amsterdam (mixed model)

- Central office with shops in three faculties: Medicine, Environment, Economics
- Staff: Director (4 days/week), doctoral degree in biology, research experience in Biotechnology;
  2 Assistants (3 days/week), 1 with background in French, 1 in Health Science.
- The central office coordinates research and also advocates on behalf of all the shops with the university's central administration, as well as being responsible for publicity and mediation between clients and researchers.
- Each project has an advisory board.
- A set fee (approximately $400.00 Canadian) is charged to each client.
- Student researchers are sometimes paid, especially at the Ph.D. level. Faculty who supervise students are always paid (approximately $800.00 Canadian).
- When a research report is published the Science Shop holds the copyright but all parties involved including the university, the researcher, the client and the shop are free to use the information for their own purposes.

1.1.3 University of Utrecht (mixed model)

- The birthplace of the Science Shops.
- It houses shops, kno vn as Research Information Centres (RICs), in seven faculties as well as a Central Office.
- The Central Office is financed by the university administration while each faculty contributes a portion of its funds to help in the funding of interdisciplinary projects.
- Staff in central office: 2 Coordinators who job-share a full time position and a one-

day per week 'work from home' position.
- Central office is responsible for recruitment of clients through marketing and networking.
- Engaging in "traffic direction" by receiving questions from the public and routing them to the appropriate faculty.
- Publicizing the activities of the RICs within the university to attract student researchers and faculty supervisors.
- Setting up and coordinating projects between faculties.
- Publishing and distribution of a quarterly magazine that features specific research projects.
- Lobbying central administration on behalf of the science shops.
- Organizing promotional activities.
- Publishing research reports.
- Hosting national Science Shop meetings.
- Engaging in policy development.
- Generally supporting the activities of the faculty shops.

1.1.4 University of Groningen (decentralized model)
- Nine Science Shops.
- Between them staff represent a total of 8 full-time appointments though it must be noted that there are actually no full time positions in any of the shops as per the preference of staff.

1.1.5 Examples of Science Shop projects
- A study of food allergies in persons with Downs Syndrome.
- A study to identify ways to improve municipal services to people living beneath the "social minimum."
- Studies on the advantages and drawbacks of certain pesticides.
- A study on the value of having high school students read the newspaper in class.
- A study of the accessibility of general practitioners offices for disabled persons.
- Documenting the experiences of women in Indonesia incarcerated in Japanese prison camps.
- Setting up educational material for deaf children to allow them to reflect on the way they use language.
- Identification of soil pollution that is more than 50 years old. This turned into quite a complex study going back 150 years and bringing considerable money and profile as well as excellent experience and knowledge generation for students.
- History shop projects in Groningen sometimes result in public exhibitions, video material, and even, on occasion, theatrical productions as opposed to written reports, although "the coordinator has had to do battle to see that the participation of students in unorthodox projects still receives academic credit" (Warme Van Gent 1996, 13).

1.1.6 Comments on the Science Shops
Warme Van Gent notes a number of trends with respect to the shops:

- First is the increasing professionalization of their staff; all of them are staffed by persons with graduate degrees and research experience.
- There are internal threats to the science shop; as a result of more stringent budgets, university administration may question the need for science shop staff. Administration at the University of Leiden made a decision to transfer science shop funding directly to the faculties with the understanding that it is to be used for socially relevant research.
- There is also increasing external competition, some of it from groups that used to utilize the services of the science shops and now have their own research organizations.

1.2 Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs)

At the same time that Science Shops were opening in Holland, students in North America were also seeking ways to make their universities more socially responsible. Begun in the U.S. over 150 PIRGs now operate in the U.S., Canada and Australia. PIRG's conduct research, education, and action on community-oriented environmental and social justice issues selected by its Board of Directors from project proposals which are typically submitted by students, though occasionally by external agencies or individuals. In Canada PIRG's are funded primarily through student fees however they also receive grants and charitable donations.

Student members describe the needs of PIRG as a three-legged stool:

- Students to act;
- Community research subjects to act on;
- Professors to give credit for the action.

Students are recruited at orientation. Typically student recruitment is not a problem. However, getting community groups to seek action can be. PIRGs are also encouraging faculty to accept student work on PIRG projects for academic credit. At Universities in Quebec this is increasingly the norm. In one PIRG office in Montreal, the budget supports an office with a paid coordinator, a resource centre, working groups, and discretionary funds for special projects, conferences and publications. Collaboration between PIRG groups is common although each group operates independently. In Canada, PIRGs operate at 19 universities in the provinces of British Columbia, Ontario, Nova Scotia and Quebec. Topics have included business ethics, housing, poverty, micro-credit, health and environmental issues.

1.3 The Université du Québec à Montréal's Service aux collectivités

Université du Québec à Montréal's (UQÀM) Service aux collectivités "appears to be the only site in Canada which provides centralized access to it's university's full research and training resources for community groups and maintains a staff to facilitate the process" (Roman 1996, 14). Since its inauguration in 1979, the Service aux collectivités has expanded into a unit with one full-time director, six full-time professional staff who

coordinate the collaboration and 2.5 support staff. Community groups can bring questions which they want addressed to a committee consisting of half professors, half community representatives. The questions are judged on the basis of their social pertinence and the academic value of the project (as opposed to the funding they bring with them). Once a decision is made to address a particular question faculty are identified to define, to respond to and to report on the research or training project. Research projects are subject to peer review on their scientific value. Faculty is encouraged to involve students in the research however projects are not, as a general rule, linked to course curriculum, and academic credit is not automatic.

"[Its director,] Claude Magnan, sees the Services aux collectivités as different from the more usual access points for those seeking to benefit from university research. Industrial research or Technology Transfer Offices are weighted toward connecting the hard sciences and engineering with business interests on a contractual basis. International Offices tend to focus on issues and students from outside Canada. Both outreach activities depend on grants and contracts. In both instances, Dr. Magnon observes, money is up-front. In contrast, at the Services aux collectivités, the social, economic, or cultural problem is up-front." (ibid. 14).

The Service is funded in part internally through the university research funds, and in part through external grants, donations, and contract fees. Funding for specific projects often comes from relevant provincial/regional government departments, social service agencies, and umbrella groups of activists and trade unions. The mission of the service is helped by the fact that from its beginnings, UQÀM has been closely connected to its community, which it sees as the disadvantaged, adult workers, and the union movement in Quebec. Its earliest mission statement called for more democratization of access to higher education and the expanded use of human, scientific, and technical resources to broaden the diffusion of knowledge. It further specifies an orientation towards those not traditionally beneficiaries of university resources, with special emphasis on voluntary, community, and labour organizations. As a result, continuing education is central to its mission, not a distinct department, so that the entire university may serve students of various ages and backgrounds. The university is particularly well known for its research in the social sciences.

1.4 Brock University's Centre for Social and Economic Research on Niagara

Brock University's Brock Centre for Social and Economic Research on Niagara is also comparable in some ways to the Dutch Science Shops. Its mandate is to respond to external information and research needs – matching demands for data and research from the community, government or business with appropriate departments and faculty. The centre will also assist in the dissemination of the research. The Centre intends to become a clearinghouse for the research contracts and projects that focus on the Niagara region. It will maintain an inventory of faculty with appropriate research interests/expertise, refer requests for research, provide linkages between researchers as data and contracts expand, as well as assist researchers and prospective clients with the administrative task of

funding, developing and completing contracts. Centre administration is through a Director and a three person Advisory Council appointed by the Vice President Academic for a term of up to three years. To date, most questions raised have originated with regional government and private companies, have been economic in nature, and have required data collection and formatting.

Since October 1995, the Centre has published a booklet to introduce itself; completed data collection and a library survey; prepared five local economic impact studies; undertaken three census analyses for local businesses; and consulted with the Niagara Region on the economic value of a local airport. It is involved in ongoing consultation and data preparation to develop a regional plan for the Municipality of Niagara.

However, unlike the Science Shops of the Netherlands, Brock university students have not been linked to research of the centre through the curriculum despite recognition of the benefits this would give them. Conflicting time frames between community research projects and student courses, and the problem of matching client needs and academic requirements, are the two main reasons cited for this lack of integration.

2. University Community Collaboration through Service Learning: Learning-By-Doing?

Service learning has been defined as:

> a credit-bearing educational experience in which students participate in an organized service activity that meets identified community needs and reflect on the service activity in such a way as to gain further understanding of the course content, a broader application of the discipline, and an enhanced sense of civic responsibility. Unlike extracurricular voluntary service, service-learning is a course based service experience that produces the best outcomes when meaningful service activities are related to the course material through reflection activities such as directed writings, small group discussions, and class presentations. Unlike practica and internships, the experiential activity in a service-learning course is not necessarily skill-based within the context of professional education (Bringle and Hatcher 1996 quoted in Zlotkowski 1998, xiv).

2.1 University of Pennsylvania's Center for Community Partnerships

2.1.1 Background to the Center

By the late 1980s, the University of Pennsylvania (Penn as it is commonly known), like other American urban universities, was paying the price of its "myopic failure to make the quality of its off-campus environment a significant institutional priority. It was experiencing the great and varied costs and stresses of trying to perform its traditional academic functions in an ever more difficult, hostile, and unsafe physical and social environment..." (Benson and Harkavy 1998, 134).

The University is situated in the geographic community of West Philadelphia. West Philadelphia's Urban Crisis was evidenced by:

- an ongoing decline in population;
- ongoing increases in poverty, crime, violence, and physical deterioration;
- repeatedly poor school performance indicators among its elementary, middle, and high school students.

The deterioration of the city and the local area were having a direct impact on Penn's ability to enhance its position as a leading international university. This impact on institutional well-being caused the institution to pay significant attention to the problem. It had become empirically clear that Penn had to radically change its orientation and relationships with West Philadelphia and Philadelphia. "In principle, Penn could no longer simply be *in* West Philadelphia and Philadelphia, it had to be *of* West Philadelphia and Philadelphia." Penn could no longer try to remain "an oasis of privileged affluence in a desert of urban pathology and despair" (ibid.). For Penn to advance significantly, West Philadelphia had to be transformed from an increasingly dangerous and alienating urban environment into a reasonably safe, attractive, community. This was formally recognized in the university's official annual report for 1987-88. This was a turning point in Penn's real relationship with its community, distinct from what might be called its rhetorical public relations relationship.

Activities linking the university to community service initiatives began in 1983 when two organizations were created; the School of Arts and Sciences Office of Community-Oriented Policy Studies (OCOPS) and the West Philadelphia Partnership (WPP). OCOPs was designed to bridge theoretical and applied knowledge using interdisciplinary seminars, summer internships and research affiliations with social service organizations. In a 1984 seminar, students were given the task of proposing strategies to address the problems of the neighbourhood. Four students examined the issue of youth unemployment and developed a proposal for university involvement in a youth job-training program that would focus on neighborhood improvement. Funding for the program was secured in 1985 and the West Philadelphia Improvement Corps (WEPIC) was created. Activity focused on improvements to a neighborhood elementary school. Undergraduates serving as summer interns assisted the labor of neighbourhood young people.

In 1988, the creation of the Penn Program for Public Service in the School of Arts and Sciences resulted in staff charged with the mandate of promoting public service and securing funding to enhance the institution's existing activities. WEPIC was expanded to encompass additional neighborhood public schools. As the program evolved, it encompassed a genuinely collaborative participatory action research project with West Philadelphia teachers and principals. The concern became to try to transform neighborhood public schools into agents of community revitalization and transformation.

In 1989, funding towards this goal was received through the state. The program initially focused its resources on only one school, The John C. Turner Middle School, in an effort

to try to achieve visible and dramatic success. There was an early decision that while the university would assist with ideas, advice, and suggestions, the school would maintain final decision-making power.

The focus of the program was intended to be job training and school subjects related to landscaping and building construction. It soon became apparent, however, that the best way to develop and sustain the community school project would be to initiate a school-based community health program. In the summer of 1990, a six-week institute for at-risk students was conducted and organized around the theme of community health. With the aid of faculty and students from the Penn medical school, the teachers developed a community health-centered curriculum that had public school students participating in a hypertension screening program for community residents. The program, organized and supervised by Penn medical faculty and students, served as a real world action-oriented, project-focused learning vehicle for the public school students. Similarly, the 1990 summer internship program for Penn undergraduates was revised to focus undergraduate research on the improvement of community health and student learning through development of a community health facility at Turner. Since then, the school-based community health program has formed the main focus of the Turner community school project, with a greatly expanded scope of subject matter, as well as numbers of students and teachers involved.

Given the development of the community health program at Turner, Professor Francis Johnston, chair of the Anthropology Department, and a world leader in nutritional anthropology, decided to become involved with the Turner project. He revised Anthropology 210 to make it a strategic academically based community service seminar. Since 1990, students in Anthropology 210 have carried out a variety of activities at Turner focused on the interactive relationships among diet, nutrition, growth and health. The seminar is organized around strategic academically based community service.

> Students are encouraged to view their education at Penn as preparing them to contribute to the solution of societal problems through service to the local community and to do so by devoting a large part of their work in the course to a significant human problem, in this case, the nutrition of disadvantaged inner-city children (Benson and Harkavy 1998, 139).

As well Professor Johnston's own research and publications have been increasingly focused on his work with Turner students and community residents and this has in turn resulted in a number of other anthropology professors and graduate students now integrating their teaching and research with the Turner school-based community health program. In addition, the success of Anthropology 210 has radiated out to other departments and schools and has played a major role in the increasingly successful campaign to expand the strategic academically based community service at Penn.

2.2 The Center for Community Partnerships

In 1992, the Center for Community Partnerships was created to achieve the following objectives:

- Improve the internal coordination and collaboration of all university-wide community service programs.
- Create new and effective partnerships between the university and the community.
- Encourage new and creative initiatives linking Penn and the community.
- Strengthen a national network of institutions of higher education committed to engagement with their local communities.

As a sign of its centrality to the university, it was located in the Office of the President. Symbolically as well as practically, the creation of the center represented a major commitment to the local community and to a truly collaborative effort to problem solving.

The center is based on three core propositions:
(1) Penn's future and the future of West Philadelphia and Philadelphia are intertwined.
(2) Penn can make a significant contribution to improving the quality of life in West Philadelphia and Philadelphia.
(3) Penn can enhance its overall mission of advancing and transmitting knowledge by helping to improve the quality of life in West Philadelphia and Philadelphia.

As discussed above, the first proposition had been self-evident. The center is founded upon the second proposition—that Penn can lead the way toward revitalizing West Philadelphia/Philadelphia. Appropriately organized and directed, Penn's range of resources can serve as the catalytic agent for galvanizing other institutions, as well as government itself, in concerted efforts to improve the quality of life in West Philadelphia/Philadelphia.

From the third proposition comes the argument that

> Enormous intellectual benefits for the university can accrue from a proactive strategy to improve West Philadelphia/Philadelphia. The center's guiding assumption is that significant advances in teaching and research will occur by focusing on the strategic problems of the city. Faculty and students will be increasingly able to put their ideals and theories into practice and test those ideals and theories as they work to solve important intellectual and real world problems. Undergraduates will be able to learn and contribute to society simultaneously. Their academic work will engage them with the central dilemmas of our time, as they focus their intellectual energy, skill, and idealism on helping to make West Philadelphia and the city better places to live and work (Benson and Harkavy 1998, 127).

Through the center, the university currently engages in three types of activities:

- Strategic academically based community service;
- Direct traditional service;
- Community economic development.

2.2.1 Strategic academically based community service

In 1994 the Provost's Council on Undergraduate Education was formed to design a model for Penn's undergraduate experience for the next century, emphasizing the union of theory and practice, as well as engagement with the material, ethical, and moral concerns of the community from local to global. Academically based community service was defined as a core component of Penn's undergraduate education for the 21st century, allowing students to be "active learners and active citizens" (ibid. 141). Penn has used this commitment to strategic academically based community service as a major theme in what marks its superiority to other higher institutions of learning. The center's strategic academically based community service activities include:

- Development and support for undergraduate and graduate seminars, courses, and research projects. The primary site for Penn's strategic academically based community service is its community of West Philadelphia. By the 1996-97 academic year, 45 courses were offered which supported Penn's work in West Philadelphia. This includes *communal* participatory action research projects. Benson and Harkavy distinguish communal PAR from traditional PAR in that in the former, the university has as great a stake as the community in the success of the research to bring about change.

- Coordination of internships for students to engage intensively in the community, especially in the public schools. West Philadelphia Improvement Corps (WEPIC) is the mediating structure for on-site delivery of academic resources. WEPIC's goal is to produce comprehensive, university-assisted community schools that serve, educate, and activate all members of the community. WEPIC seeks to help develop schools that are open year-round, functioning simultaneously as the core building for the community and as its educational and service delivery hub.

2.2.2 Direct traditional service

The centre's direct traditional service activities include:

- a mentoring program for 21 middle-school students
- a post-secondary scholarship program for 12 high school students from West Philadelphia who have actively served their communities and achieved academically, and annual drives to fill community needs.

2.2.3 Community economic development

At the same time as OCOPS was formed in 1983, the university was also instrumental in creating the West Philadelphia Partnership. The WPP freed the university from an operational role in the community.

> Universities are not only ill equipped to perform operational roles in society, but it is inappropriate for them to do so: Universities should be concerned with the production and transmission of knowledge. How well a university does both those things is how it should be evaluated. A university's service activities, which should provide genuine neighborly assistance and improvement, are best tied to its academic functions. Community initiatives should be carried out by other institutions in society (ibid. 132).

Many of WPP's initiatives are focused on community economic development activities in West Philadelphia. This includes community planning projects which have produced city funding for capital improvements to a major business corridor along the university's western boundary, as well as strategic plans for housing and commercial revitalization of two West Philadelphia communities. Since its inception the center has focused on working with WPP as well as implementing its own activities centered in the university including:

- work based learning programs for middle and high school students;
- purchasing contracts through Penn which create opportunities for minority and female employment and business ownership;
- development of a 'buy West Philadelphia' program to encourage purchase of local goods and services.

3. Cross-Cultural University Community Collaboration: "Fostering International Citizenship?"

According to John Dewey, education is the way that a society passes on not only its practical, but also its social and ethical knowledge. For Dewey, democracy, education and citizenship are inseparable and one of the primary purposes of education is the fostering of civic participation. Building on Dewey's beliefs, Thomas Erlich (1997) proposes three approaches for civic learning: community service learning, problem-based learning and collaborative learning. The program described below is, in some ways, a combination of all three. But its international focus adds a new and significant dimension to the notion of fostering citizenship.

3.1 The Canada-Asia Partnership Program (CAP)

3.1.1 The Partners

ASEAN Institute for Health Development (AIHD) Thailand: Funded by the Thai government as an institute of Mahidol University its activities include training, research, and development, focusing on primary health care service models for rural and urban settings.

The Institute of Primary Health Care (IPHC) Philippines: Located in Davao City, IPHC evolved from a small charity clinic to eventually become a department of the Davao Medical School Foundation, part of the Ateneo de Davao University. IPHC has close ties

with grassroots community organizations and experience in community health care and participatory development.

Division of International Development (DID) Canada: DID is one of three divisions located within the University of Calgary's International Centre. Within the International Centre, "DID's role has been to forge partnerships with the developing world in order to improve the quality of life of the poor and disadvantaged.... DID's understanding of development moves beyond the traditional understanding of development as economic growth to the promotion of development that is anchored to indigenous values and defined and controlled by those whose lives are most directly affected by development activities" (Schroeder 1998, 42).

3.1.2 The History

The seeds for the program were sewn in the mid-1980s when the director of the DID was travelling in Thailand and engaged in discussions with Dr. Prapont Piyarantan, who was instrumental in changing rural health care in Thailand to a participatory model. These men discussed the possibility of engaging in collaboration to promote participatory development in marginalized communities in both Asia and Canada. The discussions broadened to include the directors of AIHD and IPHC. However it wasn't until 1988 that a formal proposal was submitted to the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and funding was secured in 1990. The program ran from 1990 to 1996.

3.1.3 CAP Program Goal

"To enable people in disadvantaged communities [in both Canada and Asia] to improve their quality of life through participatory development" (ibid. 3-4).

3.1.4 CAP Program Objectives

1. To maximize access to the complimentary experience and expertise of Canadian and Asian institutions and their national networks through the creation of a Canada-Asia partnership;

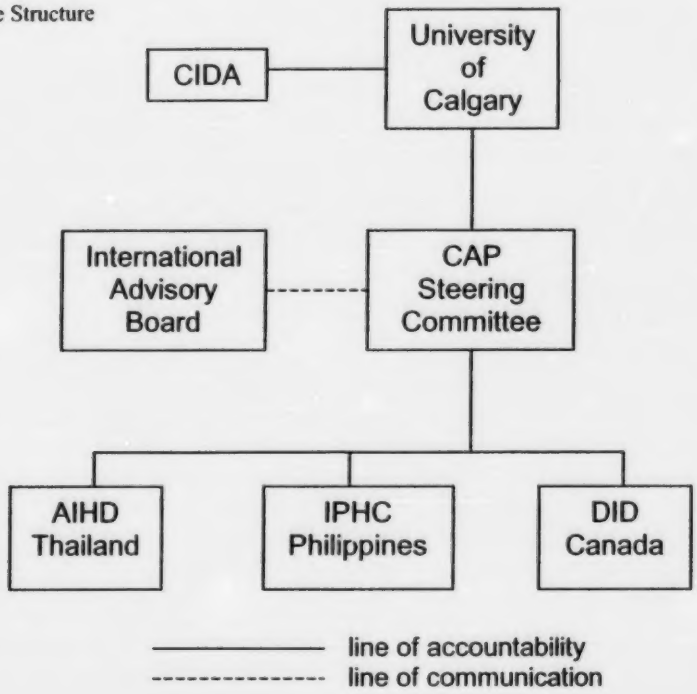
2. By means of a program of education and training initially implemented by both Canadian and Asian partners, to prepare development workers able to facilitate the process of community-based participatory development;

3. Through joint planning, student and faculty exchange programs in Canada and Asia, the partnership will increase the capacity of each participating institution to conduct training and research pertinent to the development of disadvantaged communities;

4. To develop programs for community awareness, seminars and symposia specific to each country, and to strengthen ongoing programs;

5. To provide seminars and colloquia examining critical issues in community development for policy makers, organizational leaders and development workers (ibid. 19-20).

3.1.5 Administrative Structure



CAP Steering Committee: Each of the partner countries named a national CAP coordinator. Together these three individuals formed the international steering committee responsible for the management of the program.

International Advisory Board: This body consisted of the presidents of the three partner institutions, three members at large, the three national CAP coordinators and the director of the institute or division at which the meeting was held. The responsibilities of this board included assessing CAP's objectives and ongoing activities, examining the allocation of resources for CAP activities and posing alternatives and ideas for exploration of new activities.

University of Calgary: the University of Calgary was the institution directly accountable to CIDA for the program.

CIDA: CIDA provided funding for the program however as discussed below, confusion regarding the nature of this funding resulted in subsequent difficulties.

3.1.6 CAP Program Activities

While the following five categories were identified, detailed pre-planning of activities within them did not occur based on the commitment to a participatory approach in which communities played a key role in the development of specific activities. Thus the activities identified evolved through a participatory learning-based approach.

1. Training Courses: An intercultural training program in participatory development for development practitioners. The focus was on training participants in facilitating participatory development within their own communities but also involved a cross cultural component as training courses were held in all three CAP countries and involved participants from all three countries. Each training course ran five to six weeks. Table 1 shows the training courses hosted by each of the three countries.

Table 1

Country	Training Courses Hosted	
Canada:	Educational Approaches to Participatory Development	Community-Based Environmental Protection
Philippines:	Community Organizing in Participatory Action Research	Microenterprise in Participatory Development
Thailand:	Primary Health Care	Management Skills for Community-Based Development

2. Workshops: These focused on a wide range of participatory development issues, again held by each country and involving participants from each country. The following is a list of the major themes of the workshops:

- Defining Participatory Development
- Analyzing Specific Issues in Participatory Development
- Capacity Building
- Policy Development

3. Research: In keeping with the participatory theme of the workshop, no specific research agenda was developed in advance. The generation of knowledge was intended to evolve with the program. However the generation of research became a problematic area, particularly in DID, the Canadian partner institution, for several reasons. First, "the creation of a research agenda was partially a victim of too few personnel directing too much attention towards other components of the CAP program [training courses and workshops]" (Schroeder 1998, 94). Second, there was a clear tension between the participatory focus of the program and the traditional research agenda of the university, as well as a lack of consensus regarding what constituted 'participatory' research.

   Ultimately, this was one of the issues that led to a letter of concern issued by the Vice-president of CIDA to the President of the University of Calgary. This letter sparked a review of CAP that resulted in a more focused two-pronged research strategy incorporating both traditional and participatory approaches. As a result, the latter half of the program generated significant research output in approaches to institutional and the role of participation in development.

4. Institutional strengthening: Building the capacity of each CAP institution to better pursue and promote participatory development occurred in the following ways:

Cross-partnership institutional strengthening

- International CAP planning meeting in Bangkok in 1990 which acted as an initial "getting off the ground" meeting.

- A planning meeting in Kananaskis (Canada) in 1990 which focused on planning the training courses and giving course facilitators and other CAP personnel hands on experience in participatory methodology.

- A grounded theory research workshop in Bangkok to build research capacity in participatory methodology.

National Institutional Strengthening

- Thailand - staff capacity-building in training and diversification of the Institutes research abilities and organizational development.

- Philippines - staff capacity-building in the areas of training and research, as IPHC had been an institution primarily involved in health focused project implementation, organizational development, the development of new programs within the institute, and the strengthening of relationships within the Davao medical school and the Ateneo de Daveo University.

- Canada - initially this was not a major focus, however in 1992 CIDA raised concerns regarding the lack of attention to institutional strengthening on the part of DID. Consequently activities were developed in this area. These included a visiting scholars program that brought faculty members from other Canadian universities to each of the partner institutions to engage in lectures, seminars, workshops and research. There was also the creation of ongoing Dialogue on Development seminars, the promotion of an increased international focus for the University of Calgary, the strengthening of DID's research capacity and a strategic planning session.

5. Networking: Networking occurred primarily through other CAP activities rather than as an independent activity. Each CAP partner drew on its existing network of government and NGO contacts to assist in the design of its training courses. The workshops also brought together a variety of constituencies to allow for networking opportunities. For example in Canada, the Making Connections workshop brought together NGOs from Canada with University of Calgary faculty to explore ways of enhancing community university collaboration and participatory development. IPHC held several People's Organization forums to carry out an institutional review of IPHC.

An attempt was made to facilitate networking outside of other CAP activities by creating a Canadian Partnership Advisory Committee (CPAC) with representation from the

University of Lethbridge, Medicine Hat College, Red Deer College, Athabasca University, and the University of Regina. However, as the committee lacked a specific function beyond networking, it folded after only two meetings.

3.1.7 The Challenges

CAP's open-ended approach of not initially defining specific strategies for the various components of the program was essential for the evolutionary, learning-based approach to partnership and participation espoused by CAP. However this approach faced a number of challenges:

1. *Reconciling different cultural and institutional notions of participatory administration.*

This involved creating a sense of partnership and a framework for decision making. While the first of these was carried out very well, the second was not. No decision making process was featured across many components of the program. In Canada this had a clear impact on the lack of research, lack of workshop development, lack of institutional strengthening activities, and lack of networking.

2. *Concerns identified by the funder (outlined in a letter to the President of the University)*:

- few resources had been directed towards building capacity within DID including little attention to research;
- CAP had not extended its program either within the University of Calgary or to the wider development community;
- program management was weak in the areas of program coordination, strategic planning, and financial accounting;
- the focus of CAP was on partnership and the participatory experience rather than on building capacity in research and education.

3. *Financial Management*

There was a lack of attention to financial coordination and decision making that resulted in considerable confusion, wasted time, and frustration. Eventually responsibility for financial management was transferred from the CAP Canada coordinator to DID's bookkeeping staff. A manual was also developed to assist the international partners in interpreting financial guidelines established by the University of Calgary and the project funder (CIDA).

3.1.8 The Lessons Learned

1. *Participatory administration requires a balance between participation and leadership.* "The overwhelming desire to promote equitable participation obstructed the ability to make difficult, yet necessary, administrative and financial decisions. Ultimately this led to a lack of long term planning and vision for the CAP program... In the absence of leadership at the international level, the development of three constituent national programs with relatively little overlap or long term vision is not surprising" (Schroeder 1998, 175).

2. *Sufficient staffing is critical for effective project implementation.* "The small staff at CAP Canada in the early years of the program meant that the bulk of CAP's work in Canada fell upon a very small number of people, many of whom held full-time appointments within other faculties in the University. The result was an almost complete focus on day-to-day details of [implementation]." This focus on day-to-day activities occurred at the expense of other tasks such as documentation of program processes and outcomes, which in turn made effective evaluation much more difficult. It also left little time for awareness and attention to larger program issues such as the administrative structure, the lack of leadership, or the different assumptions held by different stakeholders regarding the program itself (ibid. 181).

3. *The importance of maintaining partnership.* "Development projects based on partnership therefore need to remain aware that considerable time and effort is required to promote effective partnership and sustain this partnership in the face of a variety of constraints [including linguistic, geographic and cultural differences; staff turnover; different assumptions and expectations; and different strengths, roles, and even statuses within the program]" (ibid. 184).

4. *Effective participatory administration requires gaining consensus among all stakeholders on the nature of participation.* "A learning-based approach that involves numerous stakeholders at different administrative levels runs the risk of evolving in a myriad of unconnected directions if stakeholders do not agree on the underlying assumptions of the program. While combining a learning-based approach, purposefully minimal pre-planning, and clear consensus among all stakeholders on underlying program assumptions holds out the potential for an effectively adaptable administrative process, combining a learning-based approach and minimal pre-planning with a lack of consensus on underlying program assumptions is a recipe for potentially disconnected and unfocused administration" (ibid. 179).

5. *Participatory programs must recognize the funding agency as a key stakeholder and promote understanding within the funding agency of the outcomes of a participatory approach to development.* "[The CAP] experience illustrates that participatory development programs occupy a particularly difficult position in relation to funding agencies. As learning-based programs that are created to evolve and avoid detailed planning, they may be particularly susceptible to intervention from a funder that may have needs and demands that do not necessarily converge with the needs of the program. This points to the necessity ... to specifically involve the funder as a partner in the process of defining and building consensus on the underlying assumptions within a program" (ibid. 180-1). This is particularly significant in light of the DID and CAP experience as CIDA was believed to have held a number of assumptions which were seen to conflict with the nature and intent of the CAP program. Specifically:

- CAP received funding under CIDA's Centres of Excellence Program, however in hindsight it was clear that CIDA's funding was based on assumptions that envisioned

the COE residing at DID, not within the CAP program. CIDA's assumption of the COE acting as a program to enhance the University's expertise in research and education in participatory development clashed with CAP's assumptions of the need to value non-expert knowledge and the participation of the poor in their own development. As a result, one of CIDA's main criticisms of CAP was that it focused on fostering partnership and participation rather than building DID's capacity in research and education. CIDA was more focused on the need to increase the University's profile as a centre of expertise in participatory development and worry less about participatory community development overseas.

- CIDA's position in relation to the lack of research suggested a lack of understanding regarding the role of communities and non-expert knowledge in participatory research and how this would change the evaluation of research output. Two CAP evaluations suggest that CIDA never really understood or shared CAP's assumption of the valuable nature of participation in development as participation of beneficiaries runs counter to CIDA's planning culture (ibid. 167).

- The existence of these different assumptions led to two different opinions on who the ultimate stakeholders were in the CAP program. For many within CAP it was marginalized communities. For the funder the ultimate stakeholder was the University of Calgary, drawing on the experience of partnership to become a centre of scholarly expertise in participatory development.

4. Summary of Selected Examples

The three programs described above are notable for the considerable differences between them, yet all represent attempts to link universities more closely to the practical problems and issues of communities. The Science Shops represent an attempt to "democratize" knowledge. That is, to allow communities and typically marginalized groups to have a say in what knowledge is needed, as well as its production, and to have complete access to it. In the Netherlands, there is a long history of students being integrated into such research through course credit. This is not so in universities in Canada which offer communities similar services. Student involvement seems to be limited to the more traditional research assistantships and graduate theses.

The University of Pennsylvania's university assisted community school program is typical of many service-learning programs. Astin (1999, 40) notes that "research shows that the prototypical student service learning experience is tutoring and mentoring children from the inner city schools." However there are a number of other models. For example, Portland State University's service learning programs have had a strong environmental focus. At any rate, it has been noted that on many campuses curriculum-based community service represents the real growth area (Fisher 1998).

The Canada-Asia Partnership program represents an example of direct service by the university to the community. However, in this case universities from three different countries were offering services to communities of all three countries through a program designed to draw on the strengths of all participants in order to increase capacity for participatory research and development. In this respect, CAP represents a highly unique approach to university community partnerships (as well as, from a purely practical point of view, a very costly one). However, it is worth noting that although the program did not meet all of its intended objectives, the reasons offer valuable lessons for those seeking to engage in similar partnership efforts. It is also important to note that while students were involved from all three universities, the program was not integrated into the curriculum of the University of Calgary in any way. Bringle et al (1999, viii) note that students multicultural understanding may best be promoted through international service learning opportunities. They also argue that "the introduction of international citizenship is an indication of the extent to which the dialogue about colleges and universities as citizens is an ongoing one, needing the best thinking of college presidents, faculty, staff, and students" (ibid. viii).

MAJOR THEMES AND ISSUES

1. Reasons for Partnerships

Astin (1999, 41) notes four major trends that imply a greater concern with fostering "citizenship" at the institutional level: an increasing interest in ecology and environmental studies, the growing concern about the lack of community on college campuses, a heightened focus on diversity and multiculturalism, and the movement towards greater student and institutional involvement in service learning and volunteerism.

Mary Walshok (1999) notes that the characteristics of a knowledge-based society have significant implications for institutions of higher education, pressuring them to forge closer relationships with specific constituencies. In particular, the explosion of knowledge has left civic society inundated with information but devoid of meaningful strategies to make decisions; particularly important public policy decisions. Furthermore, a lack of faith in public institutions has left a need for settings in which genuine dialogue can occur.

Ewall (1997a, cited in Cambridge 1999, 173-4) has noted that when higher education is seen as primarily a public good, public policy reflects a desire for improved quality of education and improved accessibility. However when it is perceived as primarily a private benefit, then public policy reflects an expectation of user pay and a retreat from access. In other words, if the primary role of the university is to build individual careers and reputations and reinforce competitive relationships in society then we can expect that higher education policy will continue to result in decreased public spending and greater onus on universities to 'pay their own way.'

All of the above represent characteristics of the internal and external environment which may shift universities towards closer relationships with communities. The reasons for this shift can be seen on a continuum from the most altruistic to the most self-interested.

1.1 Moral or ethical reasons

Bringle et al (1999, 8) note that most colleges and universities include community service, along with research and teaching, as defining the mission of the university. At the beginning of the twentieth century there was a fairly even balance in the university between the traditional three missions of research, teaching, and service. However, with the rise of the "Research University," post-secondary institutions became increasingly distanced from communities and the service component of the universities mission came to be seen as more and more rhetorical. A liberal education replaced the community service tradition in developing student character and has resulted in universities being seen increasingly as a private benefit rather than a public good (Boyer 1990, 138). However, this is changing as more and more universities are being called on to work with communities, and to make their statements of community service more than just rhetoric.

- A 1998 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development document suggests that "Colleges and universities are among the greatest assets in any community, and yet too often they are isolated from their community's needs and aspirations."

Altruistic reasons for engaging with communities may be problematic however, as in general "The university fosters competitive, professionally-oriented goals; social interest goals are not primary" (Barreto 1995, 130 in Dewar and Issac 1998, 338). In fact, a radical view of universities sees them as agents of an oppressive society, thus attempts to engage with the community are viewed with suspicion and/or hostility (ibid. 336) There are, however, universities that, from their beginnings, have had relationships with community as the cornerstone of their focus.

- Roman (1996) notes that from its beginnings the Université du Québec à Montréal has been allied with populist community. Its earliest mission statement called for more democratization of access to higher education and the expanded use of human, scientific, and technical resources to broaden the diffusion of knowledge. It specifies an orientation towards those not traditionally beneficiaries of university resources with a special emphasis on voluntary, community, and labor organizations. It appears to be the only university in Canada that provides centralized access to its full research and training resources for the community through its Service aux collectivités.

- Christian institutions such as Santa Clara University and Augsburg College also often have explicit community service mandates (Zlotkowski, 1998) as do institutions founded to serve minority groups (Jones 1998, 109). However, even these institutions have had to refocus their priorities to reconfirm their original commitments (ibid.; Hesser 1998; Wood 1998).

1.2 Self-interest

Many universities have been motivated to engage in community partnerships for reasons of self-interest. Some of these reasons are narrowly financial as granting institutions and governments increasingly tie funding to community collaboration. Others are more related to societal perceptions of their relevancy and/or social contribution.

- Providence Colleges Feinstein Institute for Public Service was the result of a decision by the college president to apply for a $5 million grant offered by a Rhode Island philanthropist for the best plan for the establishment of a community service program at the undergraduate level. Prior to receiving this grant the college had virtually no experience with service-learning and no formal institutional support for curriculum based community service (Battistoni 1998, 169-70).

- When the President of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign requested continuing state aid for the university he was asked to outline the university's commitment to distressed communities. The President responded by quickly

reallocating $100,000 in campus funds to establish a community assistance project (Reardon 1998, 324).

- The University of Pennsylvania began to commit resources to a program of collaboration with the community in response to its recognition that the deterioration of the off-campus environment was having a significant impact on the university's ability to attract and retain high quality faculty, staff and students, thus jeopardizing its reputation as a world-class research university (Benson and Harkavy 1998). Decreasing population, increasing crime, poverty, violence, and physical deterioration were all characteristics of the West Philadelphia neighborhood that the university was situated within. When university administration made the statement in their 1987-88 annual report that the future of the neighborhood and the future of the institution were inextricably intertwined, the Penn Program for Public Service was created and strategies to more closely link the university's teaching and research activities to neighborhood improvement were examined.

2. Challenges of Partnering

2.1 Issues of inclusion and exclusion

The concepts of "community", "collaboration" and "partnership" are problematic in several ways. They require careful contextual definition as they imply homogeneity, equality, harmony, and inclusiveness. In reality, communities are sites of difference, of power imbalances, of oppression and of conflict. Collaborative processes through their inclusion of some people marginalize and exclude others. In this way they can, intentionally or unintentionally, reinforce or even strengthen existing power imbalances.

2.2 Issues of power and control

Issues of power and control are central to concepts of partnership and collaboration. There are various approaches to community partnerships, some of which are more empowering than others. Adin and Chadwick (2000) identify four models of university community collaboration based on Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation.

2.3 The lack of 'fit' between the university and the community

A variety of reasons for this lack of fit have been noted.

- The predominance of research in the role of the university. Holland (1999) notes the emphasis on research has created a variety of pressures resulting in increased departmentalization and even specialization within departments. Paquet (1999) notes that the search for academic excellence has produced professional academics who are members of narrow disciplines who communicate through specialized journals largely only with each other. Since reputation within the specialized field is linked to publication in such journals and since promotion is linked to reputation and

publication, it is publication which becomes the overriding objective of the professional academic. Efforts to create change are resisted as a result of the "dynamic conservativism" within the academy. Faculty who have worked hard to establish reputations within specialized fields are not often keen to see the rules of the game suddenly change.

- Community issues however, do not fit within narrow specializations. They are highly inter- and multi-disciplinary and not amenable to research within a narrow, specialized field. They require comfort and skill working with and across disciplines.

- Obtaining funding to engage in community relevant research can also be challenging. Funding grants for research proposed by faculty are typically awarded on the basis of peer reviews which again limit what is deemed to be legitimate research and knowledge production. While there have been claims that there is a poor match between what the academic classification vs. what the socio-economic classification would rank as excellent in the competition for public funding, here again there is resistance to change (Paquet 1999, 171-2; Kondro 1998).

- Other concerns for faculty relate to the loss of academic freedom as the community becomes increasingly involved in academic decisions; and also the potential for loss of income as these partnerships replace the private consulting work that faculty supplement their income with (Roman 1996).

- Dewar and Issac (1998) identify three dimensions in which community engagement clashes with traditional academic culture. The first of these has to do with differences in the mode of work. Academic work tends to be highly structured, clearly defined, time limited, and hierarchical. In contrast, community engagement requires a mode of work that is highly flexible, adaptable, cooperative, and most of all, not limited to specific time frames but rather to satisfactory completion of the project. Secondly, universities are elite institutions and have tended to foster competitive and individualistic values. They have typically not been concerned with issues of social justice. The third dimension concerns role confusion. Students typically enter community engagement work with their primary role identification that of students. For community groups however, they may be seen in much different ways. Race, class, and gender all come into play. Furthermore faculty, as well as community leaders and their constituents, are also "positioned subjects who have a distinctive mix of insight and blindness" (Rosaldo quoted in ibid. 339).

- Carignan (1998, 43) notes that while there is a strong tradition within liberal education of service to the community this tradition has had a definite *noblesse oblige* quality to it. Even where programs consciously attempt to avoid a charitable approach to partnership, communities may still feel used by the university as merely means to ends that primarily benefit the university (Reardon 1998, 325). Maybach (1996, 230) notes that there is typically an overemphasis on the server and under-emphasis on the root causes of need. This makes collaborative programs another form of oppression

for marginalized and disadvantaged communities. As a result communities are reluctant to trust institutions which they perceive to be part of the problem. Where communities have direct experience with charitable or oppressive approaches they are even more reluctant to enter into partnerships.

- There are no clear recipes or methodologies for engaging in partnerships. The best approach varies from context to context (Le Gates and Robinson, 1998) and to date there is little research on the development of context specific approaches. For many programs the process has been one of trial and error (Zlotkowski, 1998). Communities who perceive their role as passive participants in an experimental process will be reluctant to commit to this process.

3. The Elements of Successful Collaboration

Despite the above challenges there are examples of successful and mutually beneficial collaborations between universities and communities. A literature review identified the following elements as contributing to the success of university-community collaboration.

3.1 Clarity concerning the reasons for the partnership

Institutions need to be clear about the reasons that they are engaging in collaboration with communities. These reasons should be linked to the mission of the university. This is particularly important since the primary mission of higher education is not social action or the solving of social problems but contribution of intellectual resources in ways that are consistent with their educational purposes (Votruba 1996). Holland (1999) notes that while mission statements are often no more than "public relations puffery" they can serve as powerful tools to inspire and sustain institutional action and transformation, particularly when they represent an institution's critical self-assessment and vision for the future. In fact, her 1995 study found no cases where institutions had been successful in adopting significant academic or organizational changes in the absence of a clear consensus on mission. She calls for institutions to be clearer in their mission statements; clearer about what intellectual strengths and capacities they intend to develop, how and when those capacities will be available to others, and by what measures campus performance is most appropriately judged (ibid. 62).

- Holland's 1995 study led to the identification of seven key organizational factors that can be used to interpret the characteristics of any university or college mission. These factors include *organizational leadership and policies, external context and networks, infrastructure, faculty roles and rewards, faculty composition, disciplinary relationships, educational approaches.* Examining the degree to which these support a mission of community partnership requires a candid self-assessment by the institution against these factors (Holland 1999, 58). Appendix 1 contains the results of her assessment of each of these factors for institutions that claim a comprehensive commitment to community engagement across all aspects of the organization.

- The University of Pennsylvania's partnership activities with the communities of West Philadelphia and Philadelphia are linked to its desire to maintain its status as a leading research university, consequently its service learning programs with the surrounding communities are highly integrated into the institution as measured against the above factors.

- Providence College links its service learning program to its institutional mission through four principles: understanding human diversity; understanding social justice; advancing human solidarity; achieving engaged citizenship. They are inspired by a quote they attribute to an aboriginal Australian woman: "If you have come to help me, you are wasting your time. But if you have come because your liberation is bound up with mine, then let us work together" (in Battistoni 1998, 174).

3.2 Clarity regarding the terms of the partnership

A lack of clarity regarding issues of purpose, activities, resource allocation, decision-making authority, administrative responsibilities, assessment and evaluation can seriously undermine the efforts at partnership. While these will evolve with time, as much initial clarity as possible is important. In developing these terms and conditions the engaged campus can be neither an "ivory tower" set apart from the community, nor a "contractor" whose work is exclusively dictated by the needs of the community (Schudson et al in Walshok 1999, 76). At the same time, the community cannot be viewed as a pocket of need, a laboratory for experimentation, or a passive recipient of expertise if a meaningful partnership is to develop (Bringle et al 1999, 9).

- When the University of Pennsylvania, in conjunction with C. Turner Middle school, developed a community school program, it was decided early in the process that the university's role would be advice, assistance and the generation of ideas, but that final decision-making authority would rest with the school (Benson and Harkavy 1998, 137).

- Rubin (1998) identifies nine distinct types of activities that are typically carried out by faculty, staff, and students from universities in conjunction with community-building initiatives. This list, while not intended to be exhaustive, includes needs assessment and problem definition; identification and mapping of assets; advice on program design; training and mentoring of staff and residents; technical assistance; building organizational capacity; formative evaluation; summative evaluation; and comparative documentation across initiatives.

- In their international development work with a university in Nicaragua, Maureen Wilson and Elizabeth Whitmore used a process their colleagues termed *acompanamiento* or "accompanying the process." They identify seven principles which are intrinsic to this approach: non-intrusiveness; mutual trust and genuine respect; a common definition of the 'problem;' concern for each other and a sense of common destiny, mutuality and equality in the relationship; an explicit focus on

process; and attention to issues of language (Wilson and Whitmore 1995, 77). While their concern with language is the use of English versus the language of the host country, it is worth noting that academics often use language that is highly inaccessible to communities. One university community partnership program in England specifically expects students to write reports in "clear and accessible language," and to make the presentation of research findings easily understandable (Adin and Chadwick 2000, 7).

3.3 Flexibility

As noted above, clarity of the terms and conditions of the partnership is critical however flexibility is also extremely important. Programs must be responsive to community and university needs and issues and these are constantly changing. Furthermore, universities must be open to feedback from the community—they must go into the partnership willing to listen, to learn, and to adapt.

- The University of Pennsylvania's community school program was initially job training and school subjects related to landscaping and building construction. However, the university adapted its program when it recognized that a community health program would be more helpful and sustainable. This obviously required a very different approach in terms of student and faculty recruitment, but ultimately has resulted in a highly successful program (Benson and Harkavy 1998, 138).

- Faculty in the University of Illinois' East St. Louis' Action Research Project were surprised by participants feedback that the program did not represent a mutually beneficial partnership. The partnership had resulted in much greater involvement and political mobilization of neighborhood residents and successful lobbying of elected officials for the implementation of neighbourhood improvement strategies. However, participants noted that they had provided students with 15 hours per week in community development training but had received no training in return despite the vast resources the university had to offer. As a result of this feedback, an adult education program was established in the neighbourhood and has since provided courses to over 100 community leaders (Reardon, 1998).

3.4 New ways of looking at research, knowledge and teaching

This is perhaps the most powerful theme in the literature. Paquet (1999, 172) states that originating with Descartes,

> There has [within academia] been a shift from a language of life to general ideas, abstract principles, instrumental reason, and a fixation on methods. This sort of "methodism" has contributed to a reshaping of the notion of interesting knowledge into a new notion of standard output. As a result, work on local, timely, and particular issues has been demoted to the level of uninteresting questions.

In contrast to the three-legged stool of research, teaching, and community service, which the university has traditionally used to characterize itself, Boyer (1990) called on the academy to develop four scholarships:

- the scholarship of discovery (research);
- the scholarship of integration (interdisciplinarity);
- the scholarship of application (relating information to contemporary problems); and
- the scholarship of presenting knowledge (advising, counselling, teaching).

For many advocates of university community partnerships, the emphasis is on the scholarship of application. The scholarship of discovery can generate *information*, discrete facts about circumstances and events, but *knowledge* is context specific and generated in the solving of specific, particular problems. This perspective is based on the work of John Dewey and his theory of "genuine learning" that only occurs when human beings focus their attention, energies, and abilities on solving 'dilemmas' and 'perplexities'" (in Harkavy 1998). This "broad category of useful and useable knowledge generated by wroughting and wrighting, [sic] by practical philosophy, and by [Schon's 1983] 'reflection in action'" has been labeled 'Delta' knowledge (Paquet 1999, 173).

Furthermore, a focus on the scholarship of application in a true spirit of partnership has implications for both the scholarship of discovery and the scholarship of presenting knowledge. Discovery becomes part of a mutual process between the university and the community with both being teachers and both being learners. This approach is based on the work of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire in which:

> Authentic help means that all who are involved help each other mutually, growing together in the common effort to understand the reality they seek to transform. Only through such praxis - in which those who help and those who are being helped help each other simultaneously - can the act of helping become free from the distortion in which the helper dominates the helped (hooks 1994, 54).

As well, research has shown that integrating community partnerships into the curriculum results in significant change to pedagogical processes. At a minimum, it requires that students be immersed "in the tension between intellectual reflection and active engagement, creating a learning situation in which, to use Yeats' words, 'the greater the contrast, the more intense the consciousness'" (Zlotkowski 1998, xii).

3.5 Ongoing assessment by all parties as well as strategies to address concerns

If programs are to be successful in adapting to the needs of their participants, they require mechanisms for ongoing feedback and evaluation. Bringle et al (1999, vi) note that "hours in community service spent by students are not all of the same quality." They call for more attention to be given to quality of the experience for students, faculty and the communities served. They also note that assessment must include whether community

service activities are providing "palliative relief for undesirable social conditions rather than working to eliminate the root causes of these conditions."

- Bentley College uses graduate students to conduct annual evaluation of their service learning program focusing on community impact and satisfaction, faculty satisfaction, course based student satisfaction, and core program operations (Zlotkowski 1998, 74).

- A soon to be released book, *Measurement Instruments for Service Learning: Student Outcomes* (Bringle and Hudson, in preparation) will provide information on measures that can be used to inform the practice of service learning through research and program evaluation.

4. Institutionalizing University Community Partnerships

Numerous factors have been identified that assist in institutionalizing a *program* of community partnership as opposed to conducting isolated *projects* of partnership with communities.

4.1 Building on existing service-enclaves

Holland (1999, 59) notes that every post-secondary institution has individuals and programs that are engaged in the community but the level of awareness and centrality of that work to the institutional mission varies widely. Singleton et al (1999, 124) use the term "service-enclaves" to refer to groups of faculty and staff working on service initiatives in the community. The term is intended to convey both the protected conditions necessary for the development of ideas as well as their relative marginalization within the institution. While numerous such enclaves can exist in institutions, they are often working in isolation from one another. By working together they can advance the community engagement agenda of their institutions. Institutions wishing to advance such an agenda can best do this by supporting and promoting the work already being done in these enclaves.

- Holland noted that most institutions that sought to advance their community engagement agenda began by recognizing and rewarding those faculty already engaged in community service through their teaching and/or research (Holland 1999, 65).

- The University of Pennsylvania's Center for Community Partnerships grew out of the efforts of two professors who, beginning in 1984, organized seminars to focus on university-community relationships (Benson and Harkavy 1998, 132-33).

4.2 Ensuring adequate infrastructure

A universal theme in the literature is the need for adequate staff, office space, and financial resources to support the development and maintenance of partnerships with the community as well as to carry out administrative responsibilities. Within the university setting, the role of staff is typically one of recruitment of interested and skilled faculty and students; advocacy of the program, both in terms of university policy, as well as funding needs; and internal co-ordination between participants of various projects. However, staff also act outside the confines of the university to locate potential funding sources, liase with community members and public officials, and coordinate work between institutions. They also, not uncommonly, play a troubleshooting role between the community and the university.

- The Dutch Science Shops, whether they follow a centralized or decentralized model of delivery, are all staffed with people responsible for networking, marketing, coordination, and dissemination. As well, staff advocate for the Science Shops within the university and promote their work to the community. Typically, staff are professionals with graduate level education and a background in research, as well as training and/or skills in marketing and coordination. The University of Leiden has chosen to employ staff from a variety of academic backgrounds to reflect the interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research they coordinate (Warme Van Gent 1996).

- The Canada-Asia Partnership program's lack of staff severely impacted its success as a collaborative program between its partner universities and their communities (particularly in Canada). Also impacted was the program's ability to follow through on its commitment to research and evaluation, as faculty ended up having to spend considerable time on administrative and organizational tasks. This in turn jeopardized funding of the University of Calgary's Division of International Development as a CIDA Centre of Excellence.

- Brevard Community Colleges service learning program enjoys significant administrative support including over $190,000.00 annually from the college's general fund (Henry 1998, 82).

4.3 Diverse sources of funding and political support

Walshok (1999, 92) notes that "the engaged campus cannot be the pet project of a single department, function, or dean. It cannot be exclusively financed by a short-lived foundation grant or special legislative allocation. It cannot be wholly dependent on fees for services or market needs that too often overshadow the intellectual agenda." She lists key stakeholders in the commitment to community partnership from trustees and governing boards to chief academic officers to faculty, senate, and department chairs. There must also be involvement from a wide variety of external individuals and

organizations. Sources of funding should include campus resources, government and public foundation grants, private sources and fees for service.

- In starting up its service learning project, Bentley College was assisted by two different grants, one for internal development costs and the other for costs related to the development of community collaboration (Zlotkowski 1998, 65).

- In 1990, Brevard Community College's Center for Service Learning came from an Action Student Community Service grant, a Student Literacy Corps grant, the Exceptional Education Network organization, work-study funding, and tuition fees, in addition to the money provided from the campus operating fund (Henry 1998).

- The Université du Québec à Montréal's Service aux collectivités receives funding from the university's internal research fund as well as support through external grants, donations and contract money (Roman 1996).

4.4 Incentives for faculty and student participation

This is another universal theme in the literature. Not only must the university seek to remove the disincentives for community partnerships it must also provide incentives for participation. At a minimum, this involves recognizing and rewarding such participation. However there is much that can be done which actively promotes such activity.

- As part of an agenda of institutional reform, Portland State University faculty were invited by the university to attend conferences given by groups such as the American Association for Higher Education and Campus Compact. In contrast to the more narrow discipline-focused conferences which faculty usually attended, these events allowed faculty to learn more about national trends, changes and challenges on other campuses. As well, faculty began receiving literature regarding concerns about the lack of relevance of the traditional curriculum, lack of student involvement, overall dissatisfaction with higher education, and attempts at reform (Driscoll 1998, 156).

- The University of Utah awards a Public Service Professorship Award which creates a funded opportunity for recipients to develop a service learning course or an academically-based community project (Fisher 1998, 219).

- At Bates College, Center for Service Learning staff talk with new faculty each year about service learning. Center staff also act as a resource for faculty to offer ideas and suggestions for integrating service learning ideas into courses. Faculty can also draw on center funding to assist them in the development of service learning courses. Funding can be used to hire student assistants, to attend conferences, to develop the foundations of community partnerships, or to cover other costs related to curriculum development. The Center sponsors an annual series of faculty luncheon seminars on service learning with faculty, students or guests sharing their ideas and experiences. Experienced action researchers from other organizations have been brought in to

discuss their work and offer advice and suggestions for engaging with communities (Carignan 1998).

- Students at Bates College serve on the advisory committee of its Center for Service Learning. The Center also administers two small grant programs to assist students with costs associated with service learning course work or research. A roundtable is planned to bring together students and faculty involved in service learning to discuss and promote its potential (ibid. 52-53).

- Brevard Community College encompasses four campuses, each somewhat unique in its environment. Centers for Service Learning have been established at each campus so that staff can develop incentives for attracting faculty and student involvement that are tailored to each (Henry 1998, 106). Similarly at Bentley College, incentives for student and faculty participation in service learning initiatives have paid attention to its business program orientation (Zlotkowski 1998).

4.5 Collaboration between departments and between post-secondary institutions

Because the most significant feature of community issues is their inability to fit into narrow disciplines, the most significant feature of community partnership programs is the variety of disciplines that collaborate in working on them. Also, because institutions have different strengths to offer communities, collaboration among them is increasingly common.

- Community collaboration activities at UC Berkeley have expanded from a base in City and Regional Planning, to include faculty and students from almost all the professional schools and other departments in a multidisciplinary group (Rubin 1998).

- Detroit's HUD funded Community Outreach Partnership Center is a joint effort of the University of Michigan, Michigan State University and Wayne State University (Dewar and Issac 1998).

- Portland State University's major in Child and Family Studies was developed by faculty from 16 departments as well as 60 representatives from family service agencies in the metropolitan area. The program is directed by faculty and staff from all 16 departments and a community advisory board. Student learning is enriched by participation in a variety of programs and agencies from the Children's Museum, to a YWCA shelter, to hospitals and social service departments (Driscoll 1998).

4.6 Structures and processes for maintaining ongoing relationships with community partners

Relationships are often begun very informally and students and former students may figure heavily. Students may be community residents or have friendships with residents; former students may take employment within the community or come into close contact

with the community in the course of their employment. Informal relationships provide the necessary contacts to begin collaborative efforts and they can contribute heavily to their overall effectiveness. However, collaborative efforts also need to be institutionalized in order to increase the likelihood of their sustainability (Carignan 1998, 55-6). Institutionalization can take many forms from advisory councils, to steering committees, to participatory evaluation.

- Portland State University's Institute of Portland Metropolitan Studies is governed by a board composed entirely of community members from a five-county metropolitan area (Driscoll 1998).

- Both the University of Pennsylvania and UC Berkeley had long established community partnership programs. Their visible commitment to community partnership and already established programs were part of the reason for their receipt of HUD University Community Partnership grants to further their work (Benson and Harkavy 1998; Rubin 1998).

- The Service aux collectivités at the Université du Québec à Montréal operates under an advisory board consisting of both professors and community representatives (Roman 1996).

4.7 Participation in national and international linkages that promote university-community partnerships

Henry (1998, 83) notes that part of the reason for the failure of community service movements in the 1970's and 80's was due to a lack of sharing and networking among higher educational institutions.

- The University of Calgary's Canada-Asia Partnership program had little success creating a networking component in its program due to a lack of similar types of programs in other Canadian institutions which would have given the network a clear focus.

- The University of Utrecht's Science Shop Central Office hosts 5-6 national meetings of science shop personnel per year to exchange information, discuss problems, and provide mutual assistance in developing policy (Warme Van Gent 1996, 8).

- The University of Pennsylvania has hosted two national conferences on University-Community School Partnerships. As well they are publishing the biannual journal of *Universities and Community Schools*.

- Campus Compact, a national association of college and university presidents committed to fostering community service on their campuses, has grown to almost 600 members (Zlotkowski 1999, 96).

4.8 Integration of teaching and research activities with community partnerships

Holland (1999, 64-65) argues that the most successful vehicle for advancing the institutionalization of community partnerships is through the curriculum. This success occurs for at least three reasons. First, teaching allows faculty to explore community-based scholarship and become more aware of how they can engage in more collaborative research. Second, students gain the experience of community-based learning and many typically look for more such opportunities. Thus they can serve to inspire and motivate additional faculty and to advocate for greater recognition of faculty engaged in this scholarship. Third, it is one of the best ways of engaging the community in partnerships.

- Some institutions, such as Providence College and Cape Breton Community College, integrate community partnership into the curriculum through specific degree or major/minor options. Others, such as Portland State University and the University of Pennsylvania, offer community partnership opportunities through specific courses across a variety of schools and departments.

- A guiding assumption of the University of Pennsylvania's Center for Community Partnerships is that significant advances in teaching and research will occur by focusing on the strategic problems of the city and by engaging in activities to try to address them. They have termed the research they engage in "communal participatory action research," indicating that the institution has a major stake in the success of the research. This turns on its ear the idea of the objective, disengaged researcher and takes traditional PAR a step further.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

"Wisdom enough to leech us of our ill
Is daily spun; but there exists no loom
To weave it into fabric"[1]

Those universities who are engaged or becoming engaged in collaborative efforts with communities have much to consider, from what they hope to achieve for themselves to what they have to offer communities and how they can best offer it. Communities too, have much to consider, from what it is they need from such partnerships to how to maximize their existing strengths and to maintaining control over their development. But underlying all of these considerations is a much more fundamental one that this paper has only touched on.

It is a tremendous irony that despite the constant references to living in "the information age" and "the knowledge society," we are being confronted ever more intrusively with "wicked problems"—problems characterized by unknown or ambiguous goals, and highly complex and poorly understood means-ends relationships (Rittel and Weber 1973). Poverty, environmental degradation, and new and deadly viruses represent just a few examples of problems that seem to defy all of our supposed wisdom.

If it is true that the problem is not that we lack information, but that we lack knowledge of how to use it to solve our most pressing dilemmas, then perhaps university-community partnerships can act as the 'loom' that will weave together all the various threads. However, this will not occur without a very sincere and sustained examination of the impact of such partnerships on students, on communities, and on the universities themselves. And, as noted earlier, this must go beyond evaluating the overall 'fit' of the partnership to examine whether or not such partnerships are truly impacting the root causes of the problems they are meant to address, and if so, how are they managing to do this.

Such an inquiry represents an ambitious research agenda, but one of primary importance if the promise of university community partnerships is not to become just another forgotten 'flavour of the month.'

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[1]Source: Edna St. Vincent Millay's *Huntsman, what Quarry? Poems.* HarperCollins, 1967

APPENDIX 1

Factors	Characteristics
Organizational leadership; policies	Leadership articulates mission consistency to internal and external constituencies; supports necessary policies, rewards and structures to implement mission
External contexts and networks	Draws students primarily from SMSA; interacts with other institutions and community to set academic agenda
	State and local collaborations address urban needs through research, teaching, and service
Infrastructure	Campus infrastructure to support complex demands of community-based scholarship
Faculty roles and rewards	Broad definition of scholarship that supports interactive relationships with community across all faculty roles; link between faculty roles and campus mission
	Credible and accepted system for evaluation and reward of faculty that reflects definition of scholarship
	Strategy for recognizing academic achievements and building prestige of mission
Faculty composition	Community experts involved in the whole academic agenda; criteria exist for appointment of faculty with nontraditional academic backgrounds
Disciplinary approaches	Multidisciplinary teams reflect complex nature of urban problems and educational needs; teams change as needs change; involve students and community members
Educational approaches	Student's experiences are designed to help them reach their diverse academic goals; support services operate in partnership with curricular design; opportunities provided for community service; urban issues incorporated into curriculum

Source: Holland 1999, 58.

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